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NEW YORK EDITION

Belfrage counsel rips holes in govt. deportation case

By Lawrence Emery

JUDGE Edward Weinfeld last week still had not ruled on whether GUARDIAN's editor Cedric Belfrage shall be admitted to bail pending deportation proceedings. His detention on Ellis Island followed by 24 hours a threat by Sen. McCarthy to have him picked up. Belfrage had refused to answer McCarthy's questions as to his political beliefs and associations at a hearing May 14.

Before the Judge were two new documents—the government's "case" against Belfrage (which bore out an earlier admission by U.S. Asst. Atty. Gen. William Sexton: "Your Honor, I don't know what this case is all about"), and an answering brief by Belfrage's attorneys which declared.

> . . . the allegations contained in the return are general and unverified . . . unsupported by evidence or facts.

ANTI-CAPRICE: Belfrage's detention without bail was characterized as "... arbitrary, capricious, unreasonable and therefore unlawful."

In the brief Belfrage said he is not a Communist, the main and unsupported charge against him. The brief points out that in July, 1937, immediately after he had established his status as a legal permanent resident, Belfrage had taken the necessary steps to acquire citizenship. Active war service beginning in 1941 and including a two-year tour of duty in Europe under the direct control of the U.S. Army ending in October, 1945, interrupted the citizenship process; his war service was not credited to his length of residence here. The brief asserts:

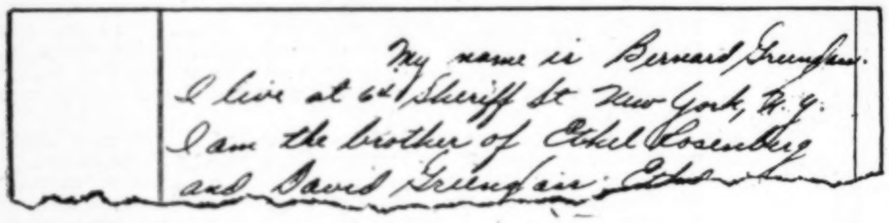
> However, it always was and still is [Belfrage's] intention and hope to become a United States citizen.

He has two American-born children.

SIX YEARS LATER: The brief, denying other allegations by the government, points out that in 1947, after Belfrage had been namd by a professional anti-Communist, he had been

(Continued on Page 4)

MORE PROOF THAT GREENGLASS LIED



My name is Bernard Greenglass.
I live at 64 Sheriff St New York, N.Y.
I am the brother of Ethel Rosenberg
and David Greenglass; Ethel

State of New York
County of New York SS

My name is Bernard Greenglass. I live at 64 Sheriff St. New York, N.Y. I am the brother of Ethel Rosenberg and David Greenglass; Ethel is my elder sister and David is my younger brother.

Some time in the year 1946 my brother David told me he had taken a sample of uranium from Los Alamos without permission of the authorities. He told me this at his then home 265 Rivington Street, New York, N.Y. I do not remember whether Ruth, David's wife was present at that time.

Sometime later, and I don't remember whether it was a year or more later or sometime before David's arrest in June 1950, David told me that he had thrown this uranium into the East River.

About a month ago, on a Friday night, David Rosenberg, Julius Rosenberg's brother came to my home to discuss the case of Ethel and Julius. There was also present Ruth Greenglass, and my mother Tessie Greenglass. The subject of uranium came up. I told Dave Rosenberg the same story that I am stating here.

Ruth, David's wife said "David took a sample of uranium but he threw it into the East River."

I told this same story about the uranium to my sister during my visit to her about a month and one half ago on a Saturday at the Sing Sing death house.

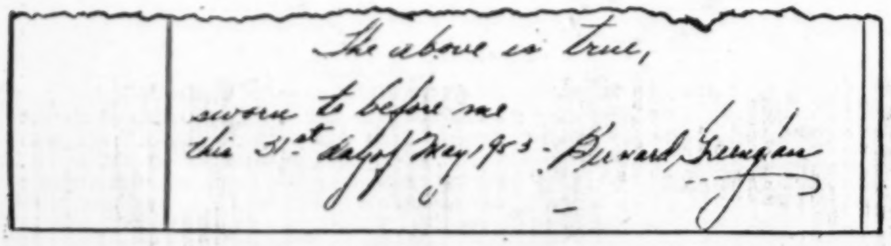
I also told the same story to Rabbi Koslowe at his home in Mamaroneck, N.Y. in the presence of David Rosenberg on the evening of May 25, 1953.

I have voluntarily related this story again to Emanuel H. Bloch at his office at 401 Broadway, New York, N.Y., on this 31st day of May, 1953.

The above is true,
/s/ Bernard Greenglass

Gloria Agrin
Notary Public State of N.Y.
Com. Exp. Mar. 30, 1954

Sworn to before me
this 31st day of May, 1953



The above is true,
sworn to before me
this 31st day of May 1953 - Bernard Greenglass

The above affidavit by Bernard Greenglass, containing its own affirmation by David Greenglass' wife Ruth, shows that his brother David lied in court when he said he could not recall why the FBI had come to visit him in Feb., 1950. A statement by Ruth in June, 1950, contained in a document traced to the files of the Greenglass attorney, O. John Rogge, said that the FBI had asked them if they had a specimen of uranium in the house. Hence both the government and attorney Rogge knew during the trial that the Greenglasses were deliberately withholding this information from the jury and the public. The information corroborates many aspects of Julius Rosenberg's testimony, especially relating to Ruth's appeal to him in 1944 after Greenglass' first furlough and before she joined him in New Mexico. Rosenberg said she asked him then to help her straighten David out in connection with theft of government property. The affidavit also confirms the real motive for Greenglass' efforts to get money and vaccination certificates to leave the country following the FBI's visit to him in Feb., 1950. The complete background is available in an excellent new pamphlet, "New Evidence in the Rosenberg Case," obtainable from the Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case, 1050 Sixth Av. New York 18, N.Y. A contribution should accompany order.

THE LAW

Rosenbergs spurn Brownell's offer of life for lies

By John T. McManus

GOVERNMENT officials announced last week that Ethel and Julius Rosenberg face death in Sing Sing Prison's electric chair at 11 p.m. on Thursday, June 18. The early execution date, less than two weeks away, was set in face of mounting new evidence of perjury in their conviction as "atom spies." As world protests against the unprecedented death sentences swelled last week, the Rosenbergs were openly confronted with the final grisly strategem of their government against them:

Confess or die to save the face of U.S. justice in the eyes of the world.

The maneuver was revealed on Tues., June 2, in a telegram from Julius and Ethel Rosenberg to their lawyer, Emanuel H. Bloch:

> MR. BENNETT, DIRECTOR OF FEDERAL PRISON BUREAU, AT DIRECTION OF MR. BROWNELL SAW ETHEL AND MYSELF TODAY AND TOLD US IF WE WANT TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOVERNMENT WE CAN DO SO THROUGH HIM AND HE WILL PUT US IN TOUCH WITH THE PROPER OFFICIALS.
>
> WE BOTH REASSERTED OUR INNOCENCE AND SAID SINCE WE ARE NOT GUILTY WE CANNOT TELL THEM ANYTHING ABOUT ESPIONAGE.
>
> ALSO THAT HE SHOULD TELL THE ATTORNEY-GENERAL TO RECOMMEND A COMMUTATION OF OUR SENTENCE.

MOTION DENIED: The emergency telegram was signed "Julie and Ethel." It arrived within minutes after Bloch had learned by phone that three justices of the Circuit Court of Appeals had denied his motion to compel Federal Judge Irving R. Kaufman to reduce the death sentences. Bloch had argued that the sentences were originally levied as "instruments for the coercion of confessions." He cited Judge Kaufman's statement that the 15-year sentence given the government's chief witness, David Greenglass—charged as a co-conspirator—was merited by "the cooperation the Government received from him."

That the "cooperation" offered by Greenglass to help convict his sister Ethel and her husband was a trumped up story to save his own skin became increasingly clear this week: Greenglass' brother Bernard signed an affidavit that Greenglass had admitted stealing uranium from Los Alamos while assigned there as an army sergeant in 1944.

The affidavit (see full text, left) reveals deliberate perjury during the trial by both David Greenglass and his wife, Ruth, with the knowledge of the prosecution. It corroborates the testi-

(Continued on Page 4)

AMERICAN STATESMANSHIP, 1953 MODEL
Speaker Martin gets the line from Sen. Taft (see p. 3)

Have YOU pledged?

Join Our

Buck-of-the-Month

Sustaining Fund for 1953

I pledge ☐ $1 every month for the rest of 1953.
☐ $....

NAME ....

ADDRESS ....

CITY.............................. ZONE...... STATE............

The GUARDIAN will send you a monthly reminder and a postage-paid reply envelope for your convenience.

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Vol. 5, No. 33 178 JUNE 8, 1953

"'Tis the business of little minds to shrink but he whose conscience pursues his conduct will pursue his principles unto death. . . . The harder the conflict, the more glorious the triumph."—TOM PAINE.

REPORT TO READERS

Mountain of Strength

FROM THE CAGE on Ellis Island this week came a typically heartening letter from Cedric Belfrage to us at the GUARDIAN. "I am tremendously impressed," he said, "by the effectiveness and quality of the last two issues." And we were tremendously pleased. Then he went on: "One can't help being impressed by the mountain of mail I am getting, and the variety of good things said."

Cedric sent us excerpts from dozens of letters, and when we put them together with mail on the "Belfrage Affair" that has come to 17 Murray Street, they made a mountain indeed. We thought, as a tribute to the magnificent people who are standing firm with us, and as an everlasting demonstration to the hate-filled McCarthy mob of the basic decency of America, we would devote most of the Mailbag this week to the mountain. Show it to your friends; show them what the quality of a man like Cedric Belfrage has done for the people of his adopted land.

ON OTHER embattled fronts these same Americans are doing what they told Cedric they would do — build the GUARDIAN. The No. 1 job they tackled was sub expirations, and this is what a partial cross-section report around the nation showed:

Jean La Vine in North Dakota has just sent us a report: 104 letters sent throughout the state. . . . Lester Roxin in Rochester, N. Y., writes: "We shall be proud to visit the people who should renew their subs." . . . Louise Dennis in Harrison, Idaho, says: "Your two-pronged renewal campaign, **Will Do** and **immediately** (her emphasis)."

Ray Gailey in South Portland, Maine, says: "I'm with you. It may be important for the NG to get those renewals, but it's vital to us. We here in Maine might not survive without the NG." . . . Our one lonesome sub in Cheyenne, Wyo., writes: "My contacting old Wyoming subscribers is a novel idea to strengthen the paper in this great state. I shall do my best." . . . I. O. Ford of Kentucky says: "We'll do our best to save those 'expiring liberals' from back-sliding. Hope the NG can evade persecution and bankruptcy till McCarthyism and war hysteria subside."

L. F. Kellogg in Gardena, Calif., says: "We'll do all we can to regain our 'lapsed' friends." . . . Art Koznek of Warroad, Minn., writes: "My pep is low and my pocket book is lower. The NG is a grand little paper and I'll do what I can to promote its circulation so it can continue to grow. The GUARDIAN must stay on guard." . . . The IPP of Los Angeles has worked out a system of GUARDIAN quotas for each club. . . . Rufus Frasier of Buffalo, N. Y., back as a civilian again, reports: "Am now getting back into activities and will be very glad to do what I can."

Nathalie Gross in El Paso, Tex., has already covered almost all the 1952 expirations and is clamoring for other back lists that she can tackle. . . . P. J. Gleason of Minneapolis, Minn., writes: "We now have an auto available to us and are visiting old subscribers an hour or two every evening." . . . Virginia White in Chapel Hill, N. C., reports: "There's really **no** excuse for some of those on your expired sub list. . . . The work has already been delegated among a group of us here." . . . and there's lots more from all over the country.

THE EDITORS

THE MAIL BAG

For Cedric Belfrage

CEDAR RAPIDS, IOWA

I have written to President Eisenhower on your behalf. God delivers the righteous out of all their troubles. God will not forsake you. We of the Progressive Party will not forsake you. **(Mrs.) H. Heeren**

BALTIMORE, MD.

Be of good faith; the "One" whose doctrines you are upholding is able to deliver you. Hallinan and Bass in '56! **H. G. Bolander**

LONDON, ENGLAND

If you get dumped over here you can always have a bed at a moment's notice. **(Rev.) Austin Lee**

MOUNTAIN LAKES, N. J.

Just a bit of a heartfelt cheer for an outspoken friend of the freedom which is so much talked about and so consistently violated by those who fear it.

P. D. Boothroyd

MONTREAL, QUE.

One cannot but recall Rome in its decay, in whose own arrogance and cruelty dwelt the seeds of its own destruction.

Annette from Quebec

STOUGHTON, MASS.

It is a terrible waste of time for you, but the time won't really be wasted. The witch-hunters are putting on a demonstration that will help to put them in their real place in history; millions are coming to understand, on both sides of the two great oceans.

Bertha Reynolds

NEW YORK, N. Y.

It took me half my life to find out that this kind of thing is done on purpose—but by Christ, ever since I found it out I'll tell anyone who will listen. You sure give little people like us courage.

Mary Ann MacIntosh

INTL. AIRPORT, LA.

We promise to keep up the protests by getting more people to know the truth, read our press, stand up fighting. Courage is contagious. Under separate cover we send six mangoes.

(Signature illegible)

SEATTLE, WASH.

Your arrest is indeed a high tribute to the spendid job you have been doing in bringing the people the truth they so desperately need.

William J. Pennock
Washington Pension Union

NEW YORK, N. Y.

No jail nor writ can imprison the spirit which speaks through your letter from Ellis Island in this week's GUARDIAN. Greetings—and support in our common fight.

Arthur Schutzer
Executive Secretary, ALP

KEUKA PARK, N. Y.

I have written about 190 letters about the Rosenbergs; they keep us busy on one front and another, do they not? "I was in prison and yet came unto me"—I am getting to know how Jesus felt when He said that.

(Mrs.) Frankie G. Merson

How crazy can you get dept.

South Korea's President Syngman Rhee, a man of many contradictions, is once again throwing a monkey wrench into United Nations machinery. Korea's foremost advocate of democracy, Rhee is also its high-handed dictator.

From "The World Over," N. Y. **World Telegram**, May 29, 1953.

•

"We must chase the Communists out of China. It is the only way to avoid World War III and bring about peace and stability."

K. C. Wu, ex-mayor of Shanghai, in San Francisco **Chronicle** interview, May 25, 1953.

Winner of each item printed under this heading gets a one-year free sub. Double winners this week: L. Hartman, Bronx, N. Y., and I. Perlman, San Francisco, Calif.

CHAPEL HILL, N. C.

I can't tell you how disgraced I feel—but can tell you how much you have helped me through the GUARDIAN. We propose to keep you both. **Clarence Parker**

BRONX, N. Y.

Hope your health is good, as I know the food is very poor at the Island. My boy friend, a seaman, spent 4½ months there and was deported. I hope many more Americans will become aroused by the Immigration Dept.'s injustices in keeping people imprisoned, breaking up families, causing untold misery to innocent people whose only crime is they want peace.

Bernice Singer

GARY, IND.

We need a new Paul Revere; our enemy isn't coming—he's here. The American youth must learn that only what you are fighting for is worth dying for. **Joe Martin**

NEW YORK, N. Y.

By the Grace of Allah, The Great Spirit, Absolute One, All-Pervading Force for Good and Unseen King of the Universe, Infinite Source of Wisdom, Power, Inspiration, Love, Mercy, Peace and Abundance, I express my profound sympathy. In my small way I shall help redress the wrong done you and restore you to the GUARDIAN. May Allah grant you your freedom soon.

Abu Bakr

TORONTO, CANADA

We are enclosing herewith a small token of our solidarity to you in your fight for freedom of the press.

We trust you may soon have your editor, Mr. Belfrage, with you again, and wish you every success in your work.

Jean Stewart
Manager, Peace News

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I contribute $50 to the BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK FUND. Fight back so that Cedric Belfrage can be free and the GUARDIAN staff can continue to print the truth for world peace and freedom from terror. **A Friend**

WINSTON-SALEM, N. C.

Native or not, you are a far greater American than Joe McCarthy, Eisenhower, Velde, Dulles, or any of their rotten money-grubbing crowd. Keep singing our Bill of Rights. **Bill McGirt**

NEW YORK, N. Y.

I read with pride of your courageous and skillful challenge to the McCarthyites who are trying to destroy American democracy—and particularly to silence the younger generation.

Wendell Addington
Editor, Youth Review

BALTIMORE, MD.

Your wit and common sense on the receiving end of McCarthiysm are healthy antidotes to the fear which so many are today overcome. I shall work even harder to slap McCarthy in the face with a sharp upturn in GUARDIAN readership.

Clifford C. Miller Jr.

RICHMOND HILL, N. Y.

When my mother told me you were on Ellis Island I was shocked. I am 10 years old. I have been saving my pennies to help the wonderful GUARDIAN. I know all the trouble you are in. I wish you much luck. **Florence Mason**

P. S.: Good luck.

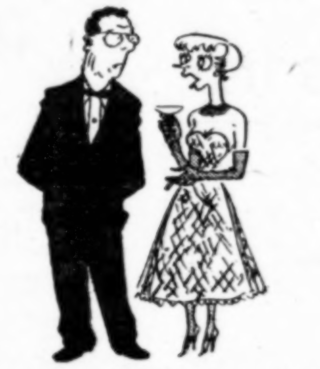
NEW YORK, N. Y.

In times like these we need more men like you and we will keep you here to help lead the fight for justice and liberty. **Leah Shain**

BUFFALO, N. Y.

You and your neighbor the Statue of Liberty together will lead us to lasting peace and hormony.

Ruth, Mark & Mardi Halpern



Lancaster in Daily Express, London

"Wilbur darling, do tell me—does Mr. Dulles do it on purpose or is he just naturally unlucky with his timing?"

The ugly symptom

NEW YORK, N. Y.

McCarthy is an alarming, ugly symptom of deep rottenness in our body politic. If the symptom is allowed to grow into an epidemic the democratic life of the country will become feebler and feebler. We need to emulate the fearless patriots of the time of John Greenleaf Whittier, who wrote these lines:

Is this the land our fathers loved,
The freedom which they toiled to win?
Is this the soil whereon they moved?
Are these the graves they slumber in?
Are we the sons by whom are born
The mantles which the dead have worn?
And shall we crouch above these graves,
With craven soul and fettered lip?
Yoke in with marked and branded slaves,
And tremble at the driver's whip?
Bend to the earth our pliant knees,
And speak — but as our masters please?

A. Garcia Diaz

Silent Liberty Bell

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

I would like to express my gratitude to the GUARDIAN for being one of the few sources of truth in printed form in this country. Of the four freedoms Americans are supposed to enjoy they actually enjoy only one (no thanks to the Government), that is the freedom of worship. Even this is indirectly censored by failing to punish members of the Ku Klux Klan and similar organizations. Here in Phila. FEPC is a law but it is not being enforced. Freedom of speech is long-forgotten. If I would get up and express these thoughts in my classroom my father might be deprived of his citizenship and then be deported.

I only wish other newspapers and more people would fight for the Four Freedoms as the GUARDIAN does. **V. E. M., age 12**

The "combination"

FLEMINGTON, N. J.

Am aroused at the scandalous attack on the GUARDIAN and am stirring up my friends, particularly in the American Rally, Natl. Farmers Union and United Secularists.

The whole illegal thing is an effect of the growing fascism in this country going out from the Roman Catholic hierarchy which planned to make the U. S. Catholic for decades. I warned the GUARDIAN repeatedly against this great danger which now approaches a climax by the combination with Wall Street and the Pentagon. I warned you against that clandestine movement, The Christophers, which is mystifying the nation.

This is **not** directed against faithful Catholics and their creed; I count some as my friends, and already many lay Catholics are opposed to the hierarchy so greedy for power. This must be emphasized. **Andrew Cordian**

Broader coverage

SAUSALITO, CALIF.

GUARDIAN editorial material generally excellent, but we would very much appreciate it if a greater effort were made to secure more news concerning other organizations such as pacifists, Quakers, ACLU, NAACP, Unitarian Church, YWCA, co-ops, etc. Many of our friends are interested in these groups and we feel that the GUARDIAN would reach thousands more people if it broadened out its news coverage without sacrificing its clear editorial position.

George Hitchcock

WAR & PEACE

Taft strips bare U.S. global get-tough plans

By Tabitha Petran

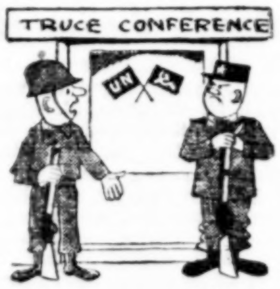
THE deepening crisis of U.S. policy becomes increasingly plain. Paris' conservative **Le Monde** said (5/22):

> - The policy of the *cordon sanitaire* [post-World War I term for the capitalist effort to crush socialist Russia, now described as "containment" or "liberation"] has proved its inanity from 1918 to our time.

Reflecting W. Europe's growing demand for a new policy, **Le Monde** saw the world moving towards "a new political orientation which could end East-West division in Europe and Asia." But it also warned that the combination which profits from East-West antagonism is organizing to try to block this new orientation.

WHAT TAFT DID: In the U.S., Sen. Taft expressed the frustration of U.S. policy in a speech (5/26) demanding that the U.S. "abandon the idea of working with the UN in the East and reserve to ourselves a completely free hand." To the Washington **Star** the speech was so "filled with doubts and misgivings" as to be "defeatist." Taft marked an important step in the unfolding of U.S. policy. His speech did these things:

- It exposed Washington's position by acknowledging: (1) the illegality of UN involvement in Korea; (2) NATO's "complete antithesis" to the UN charter; (3) the fact that "our policy has not been based on any reliance on the UN or any other country," but rather on military power and alliances.
- It indirectly admitted a major U.S. political-strategic defeat by recognizing that Washington's allies are unwilling to fight the U.S.S.R. and that the U.S. is unable therefore to wage victorious land war in Europe or Asia.
- It revealed the recklessness of U.S. policy and strategy: it doubted that the "policy of uniting the free world against communism in time of peace" could be "a practical long term policy"; it demanded a "completely free hand"—for global atomic war?



Liberation, Paris

"If you Chinese were sincere you'd offer to make peace between the British and Americans!"

BERMUDA-BOUND: Taft's power in the GOP has spawned the current Washington witticism: "If Taft should die, Eisenhower might become President." The President's gentle repudiation bore out the crack. James Reston remarked (N.Y. **Times,** 5/28):

> There was no indication that this marked the beginning of a test of strength between the President and his Senate majority leader over the conduct of U.S. foreign policy.

On the contrary Taft appeared to have won an invitation to attend the Bermuda Conference of Mr. Eisenhower, Prime Minister Churchill and the French Premier.

There is, in fact, no real split either within the Administration or between Republicans and Democrats over policy or strategy. The policy is destruction of the socialist world; the strategy is global atomic war waged from peripheral bases—land, sea and air—on both sides of the world.

THE BURST BUBBLE: The military expert of the **Tribune des Nations,** Colonel X, commenting on the reorganization of the American Joint Chiefs of Staff (5/15), punctured the popular myth that the Democrats stand for a "European," and the Republicans for an "Asian" strategy. He wrote:

SEN. WILLIAM KNOWLAND

Bang!

> From the American point of view there is no incompatibility between the military organization of Asia and that of Europe; on the contrary Washington considers the two fronts to be complementary.

A BIT TOO EARLY: Taft's disclosure of the real nature of U.S. policy, some Washington leaders felt, was premature—certain to hasten the crumbling of the western coalition. Walter Lippmann (6/1) chided Taft for not recognizing that "the whole machinery of strategic air power is founded upon the Western alliance." Lippmann seemed to ignore two things: (1) Taft's implication that Washington must have "a free hand" to act before it is too late and the coalition splits up completely; (2) that U.S. air atomic strategy envisages the over-running of W. Europe after the initial assault, so that only the initial phase, not "the whole machinery," depends on the coalition.

Taft's speech was part of a developing pattern which included:

- The naming of the new Joint Chiefs months ahead of schedule and the choice of outspoken war-with-China advocates for these posts; Admiral Radford's immediate departure for Formosa, upon his confirmation as Joint Chiefs chairman.
- Sen. Knowland's resolution to pull the U.S. out of the UN if China is admitted and his demand for expansion of the war even at the risk of World War III (the UN's truce terms, he said, would "lose most of Asia to the free world"); Sen. Sparkman's agreement that a stalemate is preferable to a truce.
- The President's pledge—under a Senate threat to bar U.S. funds to UN if China is admitted—to lead an all-out fight against China's admission.
- Sen. Mundt's warning that a seat for China will tie up foreign aid funds for nations supporting China's bid for UN membership and Sen. McCarthy's drive to force Washington's allies to impose a total embargo on trade to China.

FOXY GRANDPA: David Sentner, Washington bureau chief of the N.Y. **Journal American,** called these moves (6/1)

> . . . part of a concerted campaign . . . to forestall a threatened sellout to Moscow and Red China . . . [to warn Britain and other allies the U.S.] will not stand for UN admission of Communist China . . . [to notify the President] that he must not be taken into camp at the Bermuda Big Three conference by the wily Churchill. . . .

But rising popular pressure in the West, including the U.S., continued to demand a Korean truce and talks with Moscow to end the cold war. The President acknowledged it when he said (5/28) that mail "was running three to five times above the White House record and did not show any trend to isolationism" (**NYT,** 5/29). A legitimate assumption is that much of this mail favors the allied position for compromise. Increasingly, letters to local papers reflected growing impatience over the President's failure to fulfill his campaign promises to end the Korean War and lower taxes. Editorially the Lawrence (Mass.) **Evening Tribune** said:

> Now that the Communists have yielded in the matter of the forced repatriation of prisoners of war, and have agreed further that reluctant POW's need not be transported to a neutral country, it does not seem that it should be too difficult to arrange an armistice.

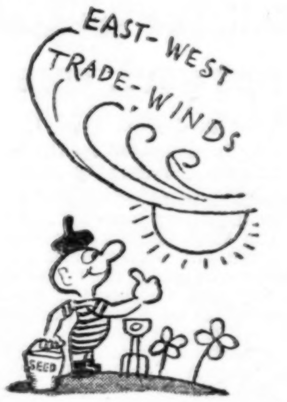
UNITY AND TRADE: **Le Monde** (5/23) declared that Eisenhower's call for the Bermuda talks was an answer to Churchill's threat to talk to Malenkov alone. **AP** (5/30) said Churchill would ask support for four-power talks from Commonwealth leaders gathered in London for the Coronation. Thomas J. Hamilton reported (**NYT,** 5/31):

> Almost every [UN] delegate this writer has encountered is in favor of a Big 4 meeting without bothering too much about the pre-conditions fixed by the U.S. . . .

In W. Germany Erich Ollenhauer, leader of the powerful Social Democrats, demanded four-power talks to discuss the reunification of Germany.

The pressure also showed in what even American observers admitted was an almost irresistible demand for expansion of trade with the socialist world. This demand dominated the recent Intl. Chamber of Commerce trade meeting in Vienna—though East-West trade was not on the agenda. The April meeting of the UN Economic Commission for Europe in Geneva resulted in East-West bilateral trade talks all over Europe.

DANGER AHEAD: The Washington tempo has been stepped up to block—if possible to smash—these popular pressures which are slowly pushing the world toward a new political orientation. The Taft-Radford-Wilson-Dulles-McCarthy offensive is backed by great power and resources: top posts in the Administration, on Capitol Hill and throughout the U.S.'s far-flung military command; powerful allies in all capitalist countries.



Drawing by Dyad, London

"Further outlook: fine and warm."

The President has docilely followed their lead and there is great danger that they can block a Korean truce. S. Korean President Syngman Rhee's manufactured defiance of the latest U.S. truce proposals demonstrated the variety of tactics at the disposal of these forces.

Business Week pointed out (5/23): "If there is no truce, a bigger war in Asia is almost inevitable." **CBS** reporter Bill Costello warned (5/31) that unless there is strong popular pressure on the President, the war-with-China forces "may take the U.S. into the most expensive war in history."

British Quaker in

BRITISH pacifist leader Stuart Denton Morris, imprisoned on Ellis Island since May 15 under the McCarran-Walter act, was allowed to enter the U.S. May 28.

The Board of Immigration Appeals in Washington overruled a finding that Morris, 63, general secy. of Britain's Peace Pledge Union, was an inadmissible alien. An immigration official had ruled previously that Morris was ineligible to enter the U.S. under a section of the McCarran-Walter act barring aliens whose activities would endanger the welfare, safety or security of the country.

WORLD

Dulles seeks Asian 'NATO' as West Europe crisis deepens

By Kumar Goshal

SECY. of State Dulles, returning from his lightning tour of the Middle and Far East, presented to the U.S. the formidable task of finding solutions to: the Arab-Israel conflict; the Anglo-Egyptian struggle over control of Suez; the India-Pakistan dispute over Kashmir; and the building of NATO-like Middle and S.E. Asia Army treaty organizations (although the fate of the European Army treaty remains uncertain).

Referring to the widespread feeling that the U.S. was trying to bolster imperialist interests, Dulles said that the U.S. must make clear to all nations that the NATO alliance was not meant to help colonial powers keep or recover their colonies.

BAD BUSINESS: In an editorial on Dulles' tour, the N.Y. **Daily News** (6/1) said:

> . . . the U.S. tentacles of power and influence are spread around the world in a manner which would have appalled Americans of 20 years ago; . . . a person's own business suffers when he takes to minding everybody else's business . . . this is as true of nations as it is of persons; the old [colonial] habit of crooking the knee and yielding all the profits in sight to the all-wise European is doing a fadeout of breath-taking swiftness and size . . . [never to] revive.

But the U.S. and its allies refused to recognize the fadeout. As British publicity heralded the dawn of a new Elizabethan age, the Churchill government announced its grim determination to try to recoup in Africa its losses in S.E. Asia, to build up Britain's military strength for increased bargaining power against U.S. encroachment in Africa.

AFRICAN EMPIRE: Albion Ross (**N.Y. Times,** 6/1) found in Kenya signs of Britain's "firm intention to build up . . . the imperial structure of East and Central Africa [to] replace the loss of India and [her] crumbling . . . position in the Middle East." Ross reported a revival of the wartime East African command under Gen. Sir George Erskine, former commander of British forces in Suez, with Frederick Crawford, World War II director of economic warfare in E. Africa, the Deputy Governor of Kenya. Gen. Erskine's new command includes all of British-occupied territory within the old Middle East Command, stretches from the Zambesi River in Rhodesia to Ethiopia and into the Indian Ocean as far as the islands of Seychelles and Mauritius. Assured of the support of the South African, Belgian Congo and Portuguese Mozambique governments, Britain clearly aimed at a new center of power in E. Africa.

(Continued on Page 7)

'Human dignity is not for sale'

This statement by Julius and Ethel Rosenberg was given to attorney Bloch June 3:

YESTERDAY, we were offered a deal by the Attorney-General of the United States. We were told that if we cooperated with the government, our lives would be spared.

By asking us to repudiate the truth of our innocence, the government admits its own doubts concerning our guilt. We will not help to purify the foul record of a fraudulent conviction and a barbaric sentence.

We solemnly declare, now and forever more, that we will not be coerced, even under pain of death, to bear false witness and to yield up to tyranny our rights as free Americans.

Our respect for truth, conscience and human dignity is not for sale. Justice is not some bauble to be sold to the highest bidder. If we are executed, it will be murder of innocent people and the shame will be on the government of the United States.

History will record, whether we live or not, that we were victims of the most monstrous frame-up in the history of our country.

Belfrage counsel rips govt. case

(Continued from Page 1)

thoroughly investigated by the FBI and questioned by a federal grand jury:

> Nevertheless, at no time since then, did the Attorney General . . . believe or deem that the said investigation warranted the arrest or deportation of [Belfrage] until [he] was subpoenaed to appear before the Velde and McCarthy Committees and his refusal, on constitutional grounds, to answer certain questions before those committees. It is respectfully submitted that the refusal to answer as aforesaid does not and cannot constitute facts upon which a denial of bail pending deportation proceedings can be predicated.

TEACHERS PROTEST: The executive board of the N.Y. Teachers Union adopted a statement urging a halt to deportation proceedings against Belfrage and criticizing the attacks on freedom of the press by the McCarthy committee:

> We consider that attacks on Mr. [James] Wechsler [editor, N.Y. **Post**] and Mr. Belfrage as further assaults on the First Amendment and the freedom of the press it guarantees. . . . We have no doubt that the brutal attacks on Mr. Wechsler and Mr. Belfrage are, in reality, attacks on the newspapers they edit. . . . We call upon the Attorney General to cease the shameful deportation proceedings against Mr. Belfrage and to release him from Ellis Island. . . .

END THE WITCH HUNTS
FIGHT BACK!
FREEDOM
FREE BELFRAGE
FREEDOM TO READ!
FREE BELFRAGE FIGHT BACK!
FREE PRESS

BEYOND THE SCOPE: **Editor & Publisher**, trade journal of the publishing industry, for a second time recently criticized Sen. McCarthy's attacks on the press and questioned his "authority to make such an investigation," pointing out that the subcommittee of the Comm. on Govt. Operations, which he heads, is limited in its scope of inquiry to governmental affairs.

The Churchman, independent journal of the Protestant Episcopal Church, published an interview with James Aronson, GUARDIAN executive editor, who was also grilled by the McCarthy committee. It quoted him:

> "From what I knew of Germany during the war, this is the beginning of Germany all over again. I put McCarthy in a class with Hitler in shrewdness and lack of scruple."

CALIFORNIA RESPONDS: From Los Angeles came this report:

> There was launched here last week an extensive community-wide campaign to organize a protest against the attack upon the GUARDIAN. A standing committee representing GUARDIAN readers, the Ind. Progressive Party, labor, liberals and minority groups made its No. 1 objective the mobilization of a telegram and letter campaign to Atty.-Gen. Herbert Brownell Jr.
>
> A second facet of the program was to stimulate contributions to the GUARDIAN and messages of support to Belfrage on Ellis Island. The GUARDIAN-Belfrage group also established liaison with the L. A. chapter of the Comm. for Protection of Foreign Born, declaring the attack on Belfrage and the GUARDIAN is part and parcel of the local jailing of nine liberal and labor leaders threatened with deportation.
>
> In addition, speakers and publicity on the Belfrage case were being planned for labor and progressive organizations throughout the area and an early conference of representatives of all such groups was being arranged.
>
> Support was pledged, also, to "Courage Is Contagious," a musical benefit for the GUARDIAN scheduled for three consecutive weekends, beginning June 5, at Danish Auditorium, 1359 W. 24th St., by the Field Theater of the Arts, Sciences and Professions Council.

NOT FOR SALE!

Cedric Belfrage's moving message from Ellis Island, published in the June 1 GUARDIAN, is now in pamphlet form. Order your copies now for distribution. Give your neighbors the answers they are waiting for. Send in your contribution to the Fight-Back Fund today.

JOHN T. McMANUS, Treasurer
Belfrage Fight-Back Fund
17 Murray Street, New York 7

Dear John McManus: Count me in on the Belfrage FIGHT-BACK FUND. Enclosed is my fighting contribution for $........

Send me .... copies of Cedric Belfrage's NOT FOR SALE (Fight-Back Fund Pamphlet No. 1.) Price 10 copies, 50c; (stamps OK); 25 copies, $1; 100 copies, $2.50. I am out to enlist new fighters!

Name ....

Address ....

Rosenbergs spurn Brownell offer

(Continued from Page 1)

mony of Julius Rosenberg that his only involvement with David during his assignment at Los Alamos was to try to warn him through his wife against stealing government property.

NEW STAY SOUGHT: A new motion for a re-trial was being drawn up for immediate filing. It is based on the Bernard Greenglass affidavit, the discovery of the Rosenberg console table (GUARDIAN, April 13) misrepresented in its absence at the trial by both the prosecution and the Greenglasses to incriminate the Rosenbergs; and documents brought to light in the European press and traced to the files of the Greenglass attorney, O. John Rogge, revealing wholesale perjuries and other significant discrepancies in the Greenglass story as eventually told at the trial.

The new motion and other legal steps already headed for the Supreme Court will be the basis for a new request for a stay of sentence pending final decision on all motions seeking a new trial.

MICHAEL'S LETTER: The Natl. Comm. to Secure Justice in the Rosenberg Case announced that delegations were being organized throughout the country to visit Congressmen and urge them to appeal to President Eisenhower for clemency.

One of the first appeals to the President came from Michael Rosenberg, 10-year-old son of the condemned couple. After seeing on television William Oatis, recently released from a Czech prison, Michael wrote on behalf of himself and his brother Robby, 6:

> I saw on television Monday Mr. Oatis is not in prison anymore because the President of the country let him go. It said his wife wrote a letter to the President over there and she told why Mr. Oatis should be let go. I think it is a good thing to let him go home because I think prison is a very bad place for anybody to be.
>
> My mommy and daddy are in prison in New York. My brother is six years old his name is Robby. He misses them very much and I miss them too. I got the idea to write you from Mr. Oatis on television. Please let my mommy and daddy go and not let anything happen to them. If they come home Robby and I will be very happy we will thank you very much.

FOR CLEMENCY: A schedule of activity for the next two weeks calls for community activity all over the U.S., including a mass rally in Union Square, New York, on June 11; a rally in Los Angeles on June 14 for which one of the large Bowls is being sought; a Clemency Train to Washington on June 14 intended to help gather at least 5,000 people at the White House to ask President Eisenhower's intervention; and an Interfaith Prayer for clemency asked of all churches and synagogues on June 6-7. Meanwhile a meeting June 3-4 in Washington of the Rosenberg Committee's national board sought the intervention of members of congress and others to President Eisenhower.

The Committee appeal to the President and to members of Congress stated:

> "American justice is the responsibility of all American citizens. Execution of the Rosenbergs despite the mountains of doubt would be a tragic event that would reflect adversely on the good name of our country, and remain upon the consciences of all American citizens."

RISING FEELING: As the GUARDIAN went to press, there still had not been time to learn of mass reactions abroad to the date of execution. But one protest came through—a cable from Australian longshoremen. The Sydney branch of the Waterside Workers Union (6,000 members) urged the President to grant clemency, reported: "Feeling against U.S.A. government rising on Sydney waterfront."

GUARDIAN's Paris correspondent reported public opinion "revolted" by the apparent determination of U.S. justice to execute the couple despite the world clemency appeals of millions including the thrice-offered intervention of Pope Pius XII.

The anti-Communist **Populaire** (Paris) declared that the execution of the Rosenbergs could only be done to please Sen. McCarthy. It said:

> The Rosenberg affair is approaching a denouement which all free minds refuse to believe will be tragic. It seems impossible that a last minute change will not occur which will save from the chair a couple whose guilt is doubted by all the world.

EUROPE PROTESTS: Demonstrations were expected throughout England, France and Italy with stepped up protests to U.S. Embassies in many countries abroad.

From France it was reported that the conservative publishing firm Gallimard plans to bring out a French edition of the book of letters written by the Rosenbergs from Sing Sing (the book was to be published here on June 10). The letters will also run serially in the literary supplement of Paris' right-wing **Figaro.** Other editions of the book are scheduled in Italy, Holland and Great Britain.

FREEDOMS

Daniels' get stay; 2 others die in N.C.

LLOYD RAY and Bennie Daniels, young Negro cousins convicted in 1949 by a N. Carolina all-white jury of killing a white taxi driver, were left behind in the state prison death house at Raleigh May 29 when Clyde Brown, 22, and Raleigh Speller, 51, with whom the cousins were to have been executed, died in the gas chamber.

Brown and Speller, also Negroes convicted of rape by all-white juries, were denied stays by Governor William B. Unsted, though delegations, with evidence of the men's innocence, visited him throughout the day and night before the executions. Speller, in jail since 1947, had been convicted three separate times. Brown had been imprisoned three years (GUARDIAN, 5/18).

U.S. Chief Justice Fred M. Vinson ordered the stay in the Daniels' case to permit another appeal for review to the state supreme court.

TWIN FUNERALS: Two thousand persons crowded Union Baptist Church May 31 for Clyde Brown's funeral service. At Windsor, 150 miles away, another huge crowd turned out for the funeral of Brown's companion in death, Raleigh Speller.

Among Negro students who kept up a vigil before the state capitol in Raleigh just before the executions was Miss Mildred Wagstaff, from Shaw University. A white man in 1950—the same year Clyde Brown was sentenced for "raping" a white woman—raped Miss Wagstaff at gunpoint. It took a mass campaign in Negro communities throughout N. Carolina to force the man's arrest and indictment. He got 10 years. N. Carolina has never executed a white man for rape.

NEW YORK EDITION

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AT ASP PHOTOGRAPHERS' SHOW

"Bird Market in Paris" by Robert Folley, in the ASP Photographers' Workshop show continuing at ASP Clubrooms, 37 W. 64 St.

THE FARE DEAL

City Hall hands over subways; 'Day of Infamy,' ALP says

By Elmer Bendiner

DESIGN for a subway fare token, smaller than a dime but worth at least 15c, was approved before the city's seal was affixed last week to the deal turning over the $1,700,000,000 transit system to a Transit Authority on a 10-year lease.

The ceremony sealing the deal on Monday was to be a formality, climaxing a six-months mock battle against it by City Hall politicians, most of whom are running for the Mayoralty. Throughout the campaign, whenever anti-fare-boost forces pressed hard, City Hall retreated "regretfully," ducking the blame by pointing to the Governor.

EASY OUT: Until two days before the sign-over Controller Lazarus Joseph had maintained he would cast his 3 decisive votes on the Board of Estimate against the plan but he had been careful to leave himself a way out. Last Monday he took that out, apologetically but nonetheless effectively guaranteeing a fare boost. All blamed Albany, insisted they were taking the "lesser evil." Earlier Mayor Impellitteri had posed as an alternative a budget that would make the city a "ghost town."

Council Pres. Halley and Manhattan Boro Pres. Wagner cast their five votes, as expected, against the deal. Halley had earlier projected a devastating belt-tightening as his alternative.

At the show-down the Board of Estimate chamber was filled mainly with the press, the kleig lights and cameras set to record the closing of the deal. In the audience the one group represented in opposition was the American Labor Party.

Before the final vote, ALP's exec. secy. Arthur Schutzer asked to be heard. Board members stirred restlessly. Schutzer first offered newsmen a picture caption: "Day of Infamy at City Hall." He then charged the deal "was conceived in private between Mayor Impellitteri and Gov. Dewey and is now being concluded without even the civic decency of holding a public hearing."

MOST RECEPTIVE: The Mayor flushed angrily, charged Schutzer with "an outrageous statement of villification." Halley who, when he campaigned in the early days of the fare fight, had made exactly the same accusation, now switched to the Mayor's side, said the fare rise is "obviously something rammed down our throats by the Governor."

Schutzer answered Halley: "If he rammed it down your throats, then the throats of the honorable members of the Board are the most receptive throats I've ever seen."

Put on the spot by ALP's lone voice, the members of the Board drew together. The **Daily Mirror** reported that the session had been "marked by verbal pot-shots except when members closed ranks to support the Mayor against an ALP charge that he and Gov. Dewey had cooked up the transit proposal as part of a secret plot."

The Transit Authority was to decide by July 15 how high the fare would go, effective July 30.

AVAILABLE JOSEPH: City Council members thought the fare boost was enough in an election year, balked at the cost in votes implicit in the Mayor's plan to extend the sales tax.

Controller Lazarus Joseph discovered at the last minute that in his earlier reckoning he had miscalculated funds on hand from last year's taxes by $12,000,000, making more taxes needless. Simultaneously Joseph announced his availability for the mayoralty.

Defeat of the tax rise proposal came after business groups had threatened an "all-out-war" (**NYT**, 6/3). Their protests seemed more effective than those of subway riders.

A DAY'S WORK FOR TOM DEWEY

Mayor Impellitteri and Controller Joseph

BIG MEDICINE VOTED NO, BUT . . .

Carver Houses will get low cost clinic

RESIDENTS of Harlem's Carver Houses are to have a low-cost clinic, State Housing Commissioner Herman T. Stichman decided last week. The state-subsidized project, to be built in the area from Madison to Park Av. and from 99th to 106th Sts. adjoining Mt. Sinai Hospital, will have apartments costing from $32 for 2½ rooms to $45 for four or five. It will house 1,400 of the Negro, Puerto Rican, Italian and other national-group families of that area whose annual incomes are from $1,200 to $2,800.

The Housing Commissioner made his statement the day after a majority of the 300 doctors at the Medical Society of the County of New York's 148th annual meeting had voted down what the minority called "a preventive psychiatry service and research unique in the field of preventive medicine."

The plan has been fought by the N.Y. state and county medical societies and the Greater N.Y. Hospital Assn. (representing 93 voluntary and 30 municipal hospitals)—assisted by most of the press—since Stichman first proposed it Dec. 7, 1950.

In the Medical Society debate, doctors offered these arguments against the plan:

- The clinic would be operated outside the premises of Mt. Sinai, "a step toward corporate medical practice."
- Patients, when too ill to go to the clinic, would have doctors calling at the apartments.
- The agreement negotiated between Mt. Sinai trustees and the state has not been submitted to the hospital's medical staff.
- The "poor man" has a "right to pay his own doctor bills."
- It is an effort of "politicians" to ride "to power on the backs of the poor."
- "The indigent are entitled to self respect. They will not accept charity."
- It represents "alarming" "'business tendencies' in hospital management."

Dr. Martin R. Steinberg, director of Mt. Sinai, analyzed the plan as follows:

- "All Carver Houses residents, as well as families living in the slums adjoining . . . would be entitled to clinic ambulatory services in the Mt. Sinai Hospital Carver Clinic" just as "low-income families are now eligible to clinic care in Mt. Sinai."
- A research project would "make it possible to study the effect of good housing on the physical and mental health of . . . 400 families of the 1,400 which are to be housed in the Carver Houses."
- "Each enrolled family will have a family doctor who will have office hours at the Center three times a week. The family doctor will also make home calls upon members of the family too ill to consult him at the clinics."
- "The medical aspects of the program, especially as it relates to preventive psychiatry, will have to center around the 'family doctor' and his relationship to the residents of the project. . . . Not only the physical aspects of pregnancy and pre-natal care will be considered, but also the preparation for the psychological aspects of parenthood, the mother's emotional reactions to pregnancy and the advent of the child will be presented through the medium of the psychiatrist, social worker, nurse, obstetrician and pediatrician."
- "A well-baby clinic which would meet at least twice weekly would provide the necessary care and advice as to proper nutrition, the maintenance of the good health of the infant, immunization against diphtheria, smallpox, whooping-cought, and other infectious diseases. This would be tied in with lectures, discussions of the emotional problems presented at this age."
- "In conjunction with the pre-natal and well-baby clinics, a nutritional guidance service for the whole family will be set up," involving work "not only with individual families but also the education of the community, utilizing known effective techniques." P.T.A. groups, "individual house units, political affiliations, and all other group units that might be available in such a community," would be consulted.

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Vito Marcantonio: The American Labor Party and the Future

American Labor Party Chairman Vito Marcantonio recently reported on the 1953 municipal elections to the ALP State Conference in the Stuyvesant Casino. Here is an abridged version of his speech:

By Vito Marcantonio

LINCOLN OPENED his famous "house divided" speech with these words: "If we could first know where we are and whither we are tending, we could then better know what to do and how to do it."

This advice is as sound today as on June 16, 1858.

The issue fixes where we are and whither we are tending. The issue today is whether or not our country can live at peace with the Soviet Union, China and other countries whose economic, political and social system vary fundamentally from ours. On the resolution of this great question rests the present and future welfare of Americans.

We have asserted throughout, that war between us and those who have differing systems would be as insane as the religious wars that almost destroyed Europe. World War today would destroy civilization. That is why time and time again we have stated that the best defense of America is peace.

Today, the present phase of the question is an early and honorable peace in Korea, preventing our being catapulted into the Indo-China war, and to stop the spreading of the war to engulf the entire Asian continent. On this issue, again we find that the leadership, those who control the machines of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties stand as one on the negative and we again reiterate our position in the affirmative for peace.

This fixes where we are. Now, whither are we tending?

AMERICANS ARE definitely tending towards peace. They are forcing their government toward it. They are tending towards the restoration of their civil liberties and the establishment of equality and the guarantee of the general welfare.

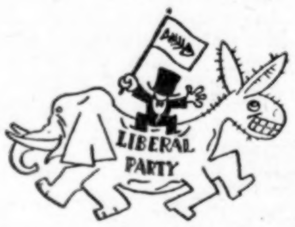
I now deal with the question of what to do and how to do it.

The answer to this problem is a political movement, national in scope, which will give political expression to the desires of the people and to the establishment of the affirmative of the issue. It is obvious that this cannot be done through the machines of either the Republican, Democratic or Liberal parties. The three stand together. They are owned and motivated by the same masters. They strive to thwart the will of the American people for peace. The simulated difference between them is used by the same manipulators to confuse and confound and divide Americans so as to nullify any effort by the people to achieve political action in their own behalf.

It is significant that not a single leader of any one of these three machines, either in the upper or lower echelons, has at any time expressed any word of opposition on the great fundamental issue of peace.

I have been speaking of the machines of these parties. I expressly and with all the emphasis of which I am capable assert that these sins are not those of the 33 million who voted the Republican ticket and of the 26 million who voted the Democratic ticket.

If given a genuine, independent third party movement, the American people will join it and will support it and make it the other party of genuine opposition, thus once again reestablishing the two-party system.



THE OVERRIDING question here has been since the end of World War II who shall pay the cost of an ever-expanding city?

The Dewey-Impellitteri program is to let the real estate gang escape their responsibility by placing the burden on those who have to ride to and from work by increasing their fares.

The Halley-Liberal Party way of letting the real estate gang escape is by so-called economy which means taking it out of the necessary services which the little people so badly need and in which there are so many shortcomings such as relief, child care and health.

The Halley plan would turn back our hospitals and schools to the pre-World War I days. It would turn the clock back to 1910.

Therefore, in answering the question of what to do in the City elections, I apply what I have attempted to establish with respect to the question of what to do nationally.

Here in the City of New York, the people's interest cannot be protected through the machinery of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties any more than they can be protected on a national scale through these machines. I have sought to meet the problem nationally by calling for the establishment of an independent political party. I offer the same for the City, the establishment of an independent political movement. This can best be accomplished with the aid of the only political party which has carried the fight in the interests of the little people—our own American Labor Party.

Some now state that this is not what to do. They say we have experimented with the third party and that it has failed. They tell us that the vote which the third party received in 1952 was inconsequential.

This is true but where I differ is in the discernment of the cause and with the solution offered for it. They say that people will not leave the Democratic and Republican parties for a third party. This is not true. I firmly believe that millions of Americans will join and support a new national third party so as to re-establish once again a two-party system by which their aspirations can be served.

AS FOR OUR PAST experiences, I maintain that the Progressive Party prior to the convention of 1948 had a potential of many millions of votes. Its program was the restoration of the Roosevelt foreign policy and the Roosevelt domestic program. This was the enunciated objective of that Party prior to the convention in July, 1948.

At that convention, I recommended, as the Republicans of one hundred years ago did, "the affiliation and cooperation of men of all parties, however differing from them in other respects, in support of the principles declared."

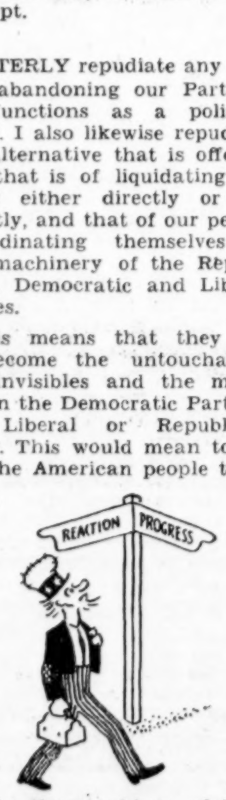
Our Party failed to live up to this precept—a simple political precept of gathering the greatest number of people around a few all-important central issues irrespective of their disagreement on other matters. We violated this principle. From the beginning of the convention to this very day, we have operated not on the basis of fundamentals but on tangents. We have been everything but a political party.

We have been a civil rights organization, a peace organization, a defense committee, and time and time again we functioned as though we were not even remotely connected with the basic issues on which we were formed.

We have been off the main beam politically time and time again. As a result, many refused to join while others left us. This was the cause of our failure as a third party. It was not the concept of a third party that was wrong but it was the way we did it. Consequently we do not abandon the concept of a new national political party and of the strengthening locally of the American Labor Party. In fact, we reaffirm that concept.

I UTTERLY repudiate any idea of abandoning our Party or its functions as a political party. I also likewise repudiate the alternative that is offered, and that is of liquidating our party either directly or indirectly, and that of our people subordinating themselves to the machinery of the Republican, Democratic and Liberal parties.

This means that they are to become the untouchables, the invisibles and the mutes within the Democratic Party or the Liberal or Republican party. This would mean to allow the American people to be tied to the machines of these parties, depriving them of any opportunity of establishing a political opposition to these machines. This course means the paralysis of any effort to cause the realignment which is so necessary to the welfare of the American people.



I refuse to believe that what to do is to surrender.

I believe in a two-party system. I reiterate that the three parties are one and that there must be another one.

This can be best accomplished with the establishment of a new political party which again I say would help bring about the realignment, the second party. And here in the City of New York, again I say this can best be accomplished with an active, independent, growing American Labor Party dedicated to the principles that I have herein enunciated calling for the "affiliation and cooperation of men of all parties, however differing from them in other respects, in support of the principles declared."

I now come to the question of how to do it. There must be a beginning. Here in 1953, we can continue to begin in the face of the situation as I have described it.

The American Labor Party, in order to give political expression to the forward march of the common people of this country **which has at long last resumed its course,** must nominate candidates for all of the major offices to be elected in the municipal elections in New York City in 1953.

Those who have abandoned the ccurse of a third party as the surest way toward bringing about the necessary realignment would urge upon us not to nominate candidates. Failure to nominate a candidate is a rare exception engaged in by political parties only under the most extraordinary circumstances. The conditions of 1953 do not warrant any such exception. Not to nominate our candidates under these circumstances is liquidation by indirection.

NOT TO NOMINATE would force on us the role of a pressure group. The moment we assume the role of a pressure group, we die as a political party and we soon become extinct as a pressure group and fail to survive in any manner.

We are not a political maneuver, we are a political movement. We are not a pressure group; we are a political party. The question is not one of going or not going it alone. To raise such an issue at this time is dishonest for the realities of the situation preclude any such issue. We face the political realities of 1953 without indulging in political metaphysics. We seek no partisan advantage. We are ready to stand with anyone who stands right.

The coalition of the real estate gang consists of the Democratic Party leadership on the one hand and the Republican and Liberal party leadership on the other, the Impellitteris, the Deweys, the Javits', the Halleys, the Windels, the Rockefellers, and the Riegelmans. All of these either through a higher fare or by cutting or by reducing the necessary services of the people serve those who benefit from low assessment. They are the candidates of the big real estate gang. They hide behind the false facade of good government.

They do not stand right. They stand wrong.

WE ARE READY to nominate anyone who stands right even though he be not a member of our Party. In fact, we will withdraw our candidate and nominate him, if such an occurrence should take place. Please note that I use the word —nominate.

This means that while we are ready to subordinate our partisan interests, we will not subordinate our identity as a political party, nor compromise the fundamental issue or the fundamental principles. This means we will place him or her on our ticket. It is inherent in anyone who will not run on our ticket that he does not stand right under the conditions of the day, and on the fundamental questions of the time.

I say we are ready to seek any and every alliance of the common people, the little people of this city, in this election. We do so as a political party seeking to serve the best interests of the common people of our city.

Doing what I have recommended and doing it in the manner that I have suggested here, I know is not easy. The course of progress has always been difficult. The fight in the interest of the indigent, the poor, the Negroes, labor, and farmers, and for the affirmation of peace, equality and freedom, has always been a severe and painful endeavor.

What is the alternative—to surrender the fight, to listen to the words of those who would have us become a pressure group, to liquidate our party as a result of not functioning as a political party, to disperse and give up our political enterprise toward the establishment of the realignment which everybody admits is so necessary? I think not.

As your chairman, I say—I pledge my personal endeavor in the exercise of my leadership to guarantee that this will not occur.

I BEGAN THIS speech with the words that Lincoln used in his "house divided" speech. I now humbly adopt the words he used in closing that famous speech:

"We did this under a single impulse of resistance to a common danger with every external circumstance against us. We formed and fought the battle through under the constant, hot fire of a disciplined, proud and bitter enemy. Would we brave all then to falter now — now when the same enemy is wavering? The result is not doubtful. We shall not fail—if we stand firm—we shall not fail. Wise counsel may accelerate or mistakes delay it but sooner or later the victory is sure to come."

NEW YORK CALENDAR

SUNDAY FORUM PRESENTS: "How We Fought McCarthyism" (Report from Washington). A round panel discussion with Howard Selsam, Doxey A. Wilkerson, Herbert Aptheker, Dashiell Hammett, Victor Perlo, on Sunday, June 7, 8:15 p.m. Refreshments. Cont: $1. Jefferson School of Social Science, 575 Av. of the Americas (cor. 16th St.)

YORKVILLE COMPASS CLUB, Fri., June 12, 8:30 p.m. Four delightful films of folk dances, songs, arts of people of 4 continents. From West Africa: **RHYTHM OF AFRICA,** commentary by Langston Hughes. From Israel: **THE EARTH SINGS,** featuring Hebrew ballad singer, Raascne. From Poland: **APPLE BLOSSOM TIME,** tale of the Tatra Mt. people. From French Canada: **HEN HOP,** unique color cartoon. Social Dancing till 2 a.m. Free refreshments. At **YORKVILLE TEMPLE,** 157 E. 86th St. Donation: 75c.

ALP COMMUNITY CENTER, 220 W. 80th St., presents **SAT., JUNE 6:** Movie and Dance. Jean Renoir in "The Southerner." Adm. $1. Candlelit tables, refreshments.

A GOOD PARTY, Sat., June 6, 8:30 p.m., Film Division, ASP, 35 W. 64th St. Sonny Terry with folk songs. Dancing, refreshments and all the trimmings.

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The Manhattanville story

NEW YORK, N. Y.

Since I have lived on Morningside Heights since 1921, I know the Morningside - Manhattanville area pretty well. I feel that I have some basis for saying that the article in the June 1 GUARDIAN called "The Manhattanville Story" is quite unfair and one-sided. Certainly you are justified in exposing Earl Brown's silly discovery of a "plot" to capture the PTA at P. S. 125, but when you go on to discuss the housing situation, the "hill and valley" division, as you call it, and the motives you ascribe to the "hill" people, you are definitely unfair. To write as though the "Save Our Homes Committee" was composed of angels of light and all the rest of the Morningside-Manhattanville residents were villains and oppressors is a very great oversimplification.

You say almost nothing of the constructive work that the Morningside Citizens Comm. has done in the situation. And you say almost nothing about the low-rent public housing planned for the area near 125th St., which would house 1,536 families. Surely this is far more important than the cooperative, and it takes priority in construction over the cooperative. The low-cost housing is badly needed in that area. If Federal funds are withheld and the low-cost housing project is delayed, that will not be a very desirable result for the thousands of families in that section who do need and want better housing.

Margaret I. Lamont

WANTED

BELFRAGE FIGHT-BACK FUND needs volunteer for 4 Wednesday evenings this month. Typing and clerical work. Please call Isabel, Guardian, WO 4-3960.

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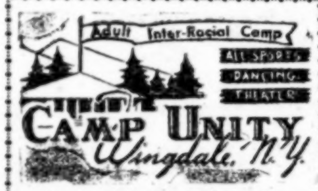

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Movie Suggestions

Special

ALP MANHATTAN COMMUNITY CENTER, 220 W. 80th St. Jean Renoir's The Southerner, on the struggles of a sharecropper family. Sat., June 6, 8:30 p.m. $1.

CLUB CINEMA, 6th Av. bet. 9-10 Sts. **Poil de Carotte** (The Redhead), study of adolescence with Harry Baur, Robert Lynen, Julien Duvivier, dir. June 5-7, 8:30 p.m.

MUS. OF MODERN ART, 11 W. 53d St. Shows 3 & 5:30 p.m.

Carole Lombard & Fredric March in Nothing Sacred (1937), June 1-7.

Bergman & Bogart in Casablanca (1942), June 8-14.

Midtown

SADKO—(Russ.) based on Rimsky-Korsakoff opera, in color. Stanley, 7th Av. & 42d St.

TONIGHT AT 8:30—(Br.) composite of 3 Noel Coward plays. Baronet, 3d Av. at 59th St.

FANFAN THE TULIP—(Fr.) satire on war with Gerard Philipe. Fine Arts, 130 E. 58th St.

SEVEN DEADLY SINS—(Fr.-It.) 7 short films, one per sin. Paris, 4 W. 58th St.

BELLISSIMA—with Anna Magnani, the Italian movie industry satirizes itself. Trans-Lux, 60th St. & Madison Av.

TITANIC — semi-documentary on the sinking, avoiding most of the sentimental pitfalls. Roxy, 7th Av. & 50th St.

Manhattan

AMERICAN, 236 E. 3rd St. **Man of Music** (Russ., Glinka biog.) & **Russian Future**, June 11 & 12.

ART, 36 E. 8th St. The Promoter, thru June 10.

BEEKMAN, 1254 2d Av. **Come Back Little Sheba**, thru June 9; **Guinness in Kind Hearts and Coronets & Quartet**, June 10-12.

8TH ST., 52 W. 8th. **Call Me Madam**, thru June 9; **High Noon & African Queen**, June 10-12.

5TH AV. PLAYHOUSE, 5th Av. & 13th St. W. C. Fields in **The Bank Dick & My Little Chickadee**, June 5-11.

55TH ST. PLAYHOUSE, 154 W. 55th. **Bel Ami & Masquerade in Vienna** thru June 7; **Keepers of the Night** (Ger. Nachtwache), opens June 8.

GRAMERCY, 23d & Lexington. **Call Me Madam**, thru June 11.

GREENWICH, Greenwich Av. at 12th St. **Devil Makes Three & Let's Dance**, June 7-9; **Carrie & Union Station**, June 10-12.

GUILD, 33 W. 50th. **Tales of Hoffman**, thru June 9; **A Queen Is Crowned** from June 10.

HEIGHTS, 150 Wadsworth Av. **Winslow Boy & The Suspect** (Br.), thru June 10; **Hills of Ireland & It Happened in Ireland**, June 11-17.

LITTLE CARNEGIE, 146 W. 57th. **Cinderella** from Rossini's **Cenerentola**, continuing.

MIDTOWN, B'way & 100th. **Original Sin** (Fr.) & excerpts from **Macbeth & Julius Caesar** (Br. reissue), thru June 6; **High Sierra & To Have & Have Not**, June 7-9; **All the King's Men & Magnificent Yankee**, from June 10.

72d ST. TRANSLUX, 346 E. 72d. **The Promoter & I Believe in You** (both Br.), continuing.

68th ST., 68th & 3rd Av. **Little Sheba**, thru June 9; **Limelight**, June 10-12.

STUYVESANT, 189 2d Av. **Cavalleria Rusticana & Loves of Don Juan**, June 11-12.

SYMPHONY, 95th & B'way. **The Promoter & I Believe in You**, thru June 12.

THALIA, 95th & B'way. **The Strange Ones** (Cocteau) & **The Young and the Damned** (Mexican), thru June 11.

WAVERLY, 6th Av. & 3rd St. **The Promoter & Meet Me at the Fair**, June 11-13.

Where to Go

SQUARE & FOLK DANCING, Friday, June 12, 9 p.m. ASP, 35 W. 64th St. 75c-$1.00.

AMERICAN-SOVIET FRIENDSHIP exhibit of photoss, publications, in 10 years of accomplishment by Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship. Club Cinema, 430 6th Av. Tues. & Wed., June 16 & 17. Films, music, 3-6 p.m. (adults 50c, children 25c); dramatic presentation, cultural program, ballet, 7:30 p.m. ($1), Tickets: Natl. Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 E. 32d St., MU 3-2080.

DON PEDRO—or "Love Conquers Al." Mozart's comic opera in English. Lemonade Opera, Greenwich Mews Playhouse, 141 W. 13th St. Nightly except Mon. $1.3.

MAYA—a French import in English by Simon Gantillon, set in Marseilles' red-light district. 1st of series of 4 plays in 4 weeks presented by Terese Hayden. Theatre de Lys, 121 Christopher St., Tues.-Sun. eves, June 9-14. Mats. Sat.-Sun. $1.20, $2.40, $3.00. WA 4-8782.

Events for Children

JUNE 6-14

Films

A RACING HERITAGE & SHIPS ON DEEP WATER: Museum of City of N.Y., 5th Av. & 103d St. Sat., June 6, 11 a.m. & 3 p.m. Free.

SEA HAWK: 85th St. Trans-Lux Theatre, Madison Av. & 85th St. Sat., June 6. Children 35c, adults 50c.

PORTUGAL: N.Y. Historical Society, 170 Central Park W. at 79th St. Sat., June 13, 2 p.m. Free.

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM: B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Weekdays. Free.

GREY SQUIRREL, Tuesday, June 9, 4:30 p.m.; NOTHING BUT AIR, Wed., June 10, 3:45 p.m.; CHEMISTRY, Thurs., June 11, 4:30 p.m.; HOW TO BUILD AN IGLOO, Fri., June 12, 4:30 p.m.

Dance and Music

CHILDREN'S DANCE FESTIVAL: Williamsbridge Oval, Bronx. Sat., June 13, 2:30 p.m. Free.

SQUARE DANCE: Community Church, 40 E. 35th St. June 13, 7:30-11:30 p.m. Free.

N. Y. CITY BALLET: N. Y. City Center, 131 W. 55th St. Performances Tues.-Sun., 8:30. Mats. Sat. & Sun., 2:30 p.m. $1.50-3.60. Sat. mats. recommended for children.

IRISH FEIS: Fordham University Campus. Traditional Irish dances, choral group, bagpipes, gymnastics, etc. Sun., June 14, 12:30 a.m. on. $1.50.

Miscellaneous

B'KLYN CHILDREN'S MUSEUM, B'klyn Av. & Park Pl. Sat., June 13. Free. Story Hour, 11:30 a.m. — BRONCO CHARLIE & THE WOOVER; Live Animal Show, 1:15 p.m.; Science Demonst. 2:30 p.m.—HEAT & FIRE; Cultural History Demonst. 3:30 p.m. — WHAT IS IT?

STORY TELLING: Especially for younger children, at local branch libraries and playgrounds. Call local branch for time and place. All month. Free.

ART CLASSES: Summer classes for children & young people and for parents & children between 3 & 8 yrs. People's Art Center of the Museum of Art. Classes open June 2. Registration may be made at the Center, 21 W. 53d St.

COLOR IN THE SKY: Display of daytime and evening phenomena in the heavens. Hayden Planetarium. Central Park W. at 79th St. Weekdays 2, 3:30 & 8:30 p.m. Saturdays 11 a.m., 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Sun. & holidays 2, 3, 4, 5 & 8:30 p.m. Children 40c under 18 yrs.), adults 65c, eves. 95c.

MARBLES CONTEST: Boys & girls through 14 yrs. Enter thru local playground director. All month. Free.

VACATION TRIPS: Hiking, biking, canoeing. Family trip or register for supervised trips with Metropolitan Council, American Youth Hostel, 344 W. 36th St. ONE DAY & WEEKEND JAUNTS, overnight trips to numerous hostels in and around New York State. Inquire at American Youth Hostel.

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Out of this world food in genuine Hungarian style.
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For a weekend outing right in the city make sure to be there.
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MANHATTAN CENTER
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Prominent Speakers
Memorial Services by
Rabbi Abraham Bick and
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Best loved of French films. Directed by Julian Duvivier, with Harry Bauer & Robert Lynen. Extraordinarily moving study of an adolescent. English titles. AIR COOLED.
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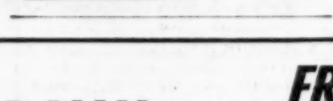
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Tickets available at: National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, 114 East 32d Street, New York 16

Friends of RUDY SKREK, a true American who fell on a Normandy Beach on D-Day, June 6, 1944, commemorate his life and death.

RUDY SKREK devoted his life to the people's struggle for peace and freedom. At this anniversary of his death we pledge ourselves to carry on for him.

Phil	**Hannah**
Harold & Sylvia	**M.**
Milt	**H. A. S.**

Time Is Growing Short to

Save the Rosenbergs

Scheduled to Die the Week of June 15 —Their Wedding Anniversary!

Five Minutes of YOUR Time
Can Save Two Lives —
Write or Wire at Once to President Eisenhower urging "CLEMENCY FOR THE ROSENBERGS"

One Hour of YOUR Time
Can Save Two Lives —
Attend the
ZERO HOUR CLEMENCY RALLY at
Union Square, Thursday, June 11, 5 p.m.

One Day of YOUR Time
Can Save Two Lives —
Join the
CLEMENCY TRAIN To Washington
SUNDAY, JUNE 14th
Leaves Liberty St. Ferry 8:15 a.m. daylight time.
Leaves B & O Station, Jersey City, 8:30 a.m.
For Full Details call:
NATIONAL COMM. TO SECURE JUSTICE IN THE ROSENBERG CASE
1050 Sixth Avenue, New York 18 LO 4-9585

GUARDIANS OF FREEDOM RALLY

FRIDAY, JUNE 5, 8:30 p.m.
PALM GARDEN, 306 W. 52d. ST.

Come and hear what you can do to stop McCarthyism

JUNE 4 TO JULY 4 IS AMNESTY MONTH

The fight for amnesty

IN THIS TIME of McCarthyism, we can ill afford to neglect the fight against the thought-control Smith Act, upheld two years ago by a 6-2 majoriy of the Supreme Court.

The decision in the Dennis case did more than order 11 Communist Party leaders to prison. It lifted the curbs placed on Congress by the First Amendment. It made opposition to the policies of a reactionary administration a "conspiracy to teach and advocate" forcible overthrow of government. It gave credence to the testimony of perjured witnesses, who now ride the McCarthy-McCarran-Velde-Jenner circuit—ruining reputations and robbing hundreds of their means of livelihood.

All of us are paying a big price for letting the Smith Act sneak up on us. All of us have good reason to support the campaign to free those whom it has imprisoned, or threatens with imprisonment.

The National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims has designated June 4 to July 4 "Amnesty Month." It is using the occasion of the second anniversary of the Supreme Court decision to launch a movement to put an end to thought-control prosecutions, and free all those convicted solely for their political views and activity.

WE THINK all readers of the GUARDIAN will want to support this campaign. That is why we have asked this space to tell the story of the amnesty tradition, and the high-lights of the current amnesty campaign.

For more information about the Smith Act, and the story of the men and women now in prison, we suggest that you mail the coupon below.

Natl. Committee to Win Amnesty
for Smith Act Victims

AMNESTY—especially for labor and political prisoners—is no new concept in the U. S. As early as 1801 President Thomas Jefferson freed all the jailed victims of the Alien and Sedition Acts. President Andrew Johnson granted amnesty to many prisoners convicted of overt opposition to the Federal government during the Civil War. In 1898 Gov. John Peter Altgeld of Illinois gave full pardons to the three surviving victims of the Haymarket affair. (Four were hanged before Altgeld took office.)

President Wilson freed some of the victims of World War I "red" hysteria; President Harding released Eugene V. Debs from a prison sentence, freed 23 other political prisoners. Debs was sentenced to ten years for a speech opposing U. S. entry into World War I. The Socialist Party, which he headed, had no more than 5,000 members at the time. But they, together with many in all other parties, gathered more than 300,000 signatures to an amnesty petition and won the support of 700 organizations with a combined membership of more than 3,000,000. Debs while behind bars received nearly 1,000,000 votes as his party's presidential candidate.

EUGENE DEBS
For a speech

MOONEY FREED: When Calvin Coolidge assumed the Presidency, there were still 165 political prisoners behind bars; he freed them all. Franklin D. Roosevelt restored full civil rights to all World War I victims, pardoned Earl Browder, then head of the Communist Party. California's Gov. Olson pardoned Tom Mooney, who had originally been sentenced to death. President Truman in 1947 set up an Amnesty Board that freed many World War II conscientious objectors and Japanese-Americans who had been imprisoned. In 1952 he commuted the death sentence of Puerto Rican patriot Oscar Collazo who killed a White House guard in an armed demonstration against U. S. policy in Puerto Rico.

Most of these grants of amnesty were won through organized popular movements, here and abroad.

EVEN IN FASCIST SPAIN: Historically, amnesty has been won through international campaigns. Following the abortive 1905 revolution in Russia, the Czar reacted to worldwide pressure and proclaimed a general amnesty for hundreds of political prisoners. Currently an international campaign has won freedom for hundrds of political prisoners in Turkey, including Nazim Hikmet, world-famous poet. An amnesty campaign has won for poet-statesman Pablo Neruda repatriation to his native Chile after years of political exile. Even Generalissimo Franco has been forced to release substantial numbers of political prisoners in fascist Spain.

SINCE the current cycle of prosecutions under the Smith Act began with the indictment of the top Communist Party leaders in July, 1948 (neatly timed with that year's Presidential elections), these are the present grim statistics:

Indicted		86
Convicted		44
In prison	14	
On appeal	27	
Now on trial		19
Awaiting trial		12
Severed for illness		5
Acquitted		2
Political refugees		7

Smith Act prosecutions have been brought in: New York (two trials); California; Maryland; Pennsylvania; Michigan; Missouri; Washington; Hawaii.

Women defendants	14
Active trade union leaders	4
Negro leaders	9
Newspaper editors and reporters	7

The basic right

WE are troubled that men, whose crime is a lively conscience in the face of what they consider the inequities of society and the advocacy of social change which they believe will result in a larger benefit for all, are in prison. Whether their views are right or wrong, justified or unjustified, wise or unwise, is beside the point. Under our traditional concept of freedom, conscientious advocacy is a basic democratic right and the glory of a free society. The freedom of all is in jeopardy when any are penalized and silenced.

—*From a statement addressed to former President Harry S. Truman signed by 161 church leaders.*

IN 1801 President Thomas Jefferson freed every victim of the Alien and Sedition Laws still in jail at the time. He later explained his action:

> "I discharged every person under punishment or prosecution under the sedition law, because I considered, and now consider, that law to be a nullity, as absolute and as palpable as if Congress had ordered us to fall down and worship a golden image."
>
> **Works,** Vol. X, p. 87.

National Committee to Win Amnesty for Smith Act Victims
Dr. Edward K. Barsky, chairman
Carl Marzani, treasurer
667 Madison Av., Room 611, New York 21, N. Y.

Please send me more information about your Committee, and tell me how I can help build the amnesty campaign in my community.

Name ....

Address ....

City.................................. **Zone**...... **State**............

BENJAMIN DAVIS
He was early

The Davis story

BENJAMIN J. DAVIS Jr., former New York City Councilman, was one of the first to be convicted and sentenced under the current Smith Act trials. Last week he was transferred from the Federal penitentiary at Terre Haute, Ind., to the Allegheny County jail; he will appear as a defense witness for five Smith Act victims being tried in Pittsburgh.

Among the Pittsburgh defendants are Steve Nelson, outstanding veteran of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, which fought in Spain, and Ben Careathers, long-time Negro leader in the steel city. Nelson is already serving a 20-year sentence under a World War I state sedition law; Careathers has been denied a severance despite a serious tubercular condition.

The Natl. Comm. To Win Amnesty expects Davis' appearance in the Pittsburgh court to widen the growing movement to free all Smith Act victims. During Davis' stay in Pittsburgh, letters can reach him in care of the Federal Court House there.

JOHN GATES
No overt acts

The Gates story

CURRENT attacks on freedom of the press began with arrest, trial and conviction of **Daily Worker** editor John Gates in 1948-49. He has now served 23 months of a five-year sentence for "teaching and advocating" ideas forbidden under the Smith Act. No overt acts were charged against him.

All told, seven newsmen—editors and reporters—have been indicted under the Smith Act.

The attack on the press, begun with the indictment of Gates, has now widened to include both the GUARDIAN's own editor, Cedric Belfrage, and editor James Wechsler of the violently anti-Communist N.Y. **Post.**

LUIS TARUC'S
Dramatic Story of the Philippine Guerillos

BORN OF THE PEOPLE

Foreword by Paul Robeson

Written in bivouac, forest, and swamp, this monumental and moving book tells for the first time the full story of the Hukbalahap — the People's Liberation Army of the Philippines. Luis Taruc, author of the book and commander of the army, has been called "bandit," "murderer" and "traitor"—even as George Washington was called by these very names when he led the ragged, embattled farmers in the American War for Independence. Taruc's autobiography tears aside the curtain of lies and gives us a true glimpse of colonial people fighting for their freedom. Luis Taruc, guerilla commander and political leader, is also a writer who has produced a literary masterpiece with a rare beauty of style and depth of feeling.

"A MASTERPIECE OF OUR TIME"

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS—"A long-needed addition to the history of American imperialism. Every honest American should read Luis Taruc's calm, factual and detailed story of his bitter life."

HARRY F. WARD—"This is life expressing itself. Nowhere else that I know is the welding of a people and a leader so clearly portrayed. All through this book are vivid touches of the beauty of ordinary human living and gleams of the faith, hope and courage of the common people."

HOWARD FAST—"A masterpiece of our time . . . the greatest of all things I have read about colonial struggles for liberation today."

•

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W. E. B. DuBOIS WRITES

Of a man born of the people

By W. E. B. DuBois

THERE is a widely believed legend that the treatment of the peoples of the Philippines by the U.S. has been an ideal case of contact between a white industrial nation and a colored colonial people, with philanthropy, missions and education. This autobiography of a Filipino peasant, Luis Taruc, is bitter proof to the contrary.

Our own historical annals should have taught us this long ago. The description of the U.S. as a colonial power of the classic type is not a Russian lie. As early as 1898 our liberal newspaper editor, William Allen White, wrote in his **Emporia Gazette:**

> "Only Anglo-Saxons can govern themselves.... It is the Anglo-Saxon manifest destiny to go forth as the world conqueror. He will take possession of the islands of the sea—this is what fate holds for the chosen people."

Young Senator Beveridge echoed this in his first speech:

> "The Philippines are ours forever. . . . And just beyond the Philippines are China's illimitable markets. We will not retreat from either. The Pacific is the ocean of the commerce of the future and most future wars will be conflicts for commerce. . . . We will not renounce our part in the mission of our race, trustees under God, of the civilization of the world . . . that power is and will forever be the American Republic. . . ."

EARLIEST MEMORY: Thus we made our debut as Colonial Imperialists, and Taruc tells us to what ends we have come. He is the son of peasants, born in Pampanga in 1913. He was "born of the people," a serf of the landlord:

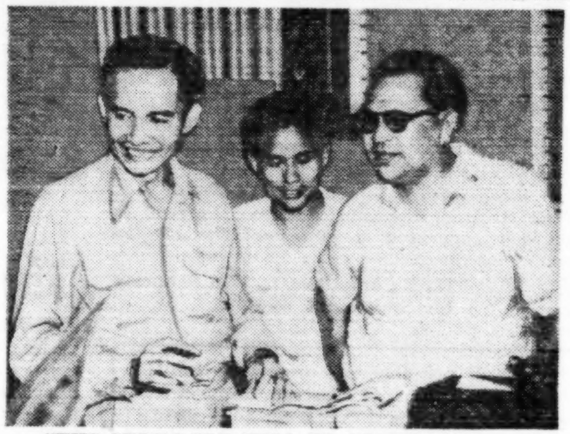
> "Perhaps the biggest fact in my life was the landlord. When I was still crawling in the dust of the barrio street, I remember the landlords coming into the barrio, shouting 'Hoy, Puneta!' (Hey, you so-and-so), and making the peasants run to carry out their demands. Our people would have to catch the fattest hen, get milk and eggs, and bring the biggest fish to the landlord. If they delayed, or perhaps did not do things to the landlord's liking, they were fined, or given extra work. In an extreme case they might be evicted. And where would they go for justice? The landlord owned the barrio. He was the justice, too."

HEART AND HEAD: His grandfather had owned land but the landgrabbers got it. His father's only defense was "his goodness." He was "so soft-spoken, so humble, so kind," who would never think of harming anyone. Luis grew up resentful:

> "I saw that you need more than a good heart, that you need a good head, if you must fight for your rights. I determined to study, to gain knowledge, to know how to fight if I had to."

His schooling was a grim fight with starvation, but he finished high school in 1932, in the midst of depression, with hunger strikes. He tried to enter the law school at the University of Manila, and to support himself he dug ditches until his strength failed. He returned to his peasant home to work as a tailor. When the Americans had come to oust the Spaniards, all had hoped for democracy and land reform. But laborers were still getting five cents a day, and the American Sugar Trust was in the saddle.

THE NEW WIND: Taruc dreamed of becoming Robin Hood. He heard of Socialism and Communism and listened to their speakers. When he himself began to speak publicly he found himself talking Socialism before he quite knew what it meant. Strikes and disorder spread.



"THE STRUGGLE WILL BE COMPLETED. . . ."
Luis Taruc (1) with Alfredo Saulo (c) and Amado Hernandez, labor leader sentenced to life by Quirino.

> "The tide that reached Pampanga was now sweeping the whole world. It was the anti-fascist spirit of the people. Filipino peasants and workers, as well as the industrial workers of other nations, were awake to the menace of fascism. From our fields we had watched the Spanish people in their heroic, single-handed struggle to the death against Hitler, Mussolini and Franco, and the unquenchable struggle of the Chinese people against the Japanese aggressors."

In December, 1941, when the Japanese attacked, the peasants offered help:

> "Labor battalions were organized to cooperate with the American and Philippine armies. Casto Alejandrino, the Socialist mayor of Arayat, contacted by the U.S. engineers, promised 5,000 workers in 24 hours. The entire number was organized in less than that time. They helped to construct defenses and camouflaged positions from Concepcion to Candaba."

For three long years the struggle kept up, not simply against Japanese but against Filipinos who sold out to the enemy and to the landlords.

BUT NO FRIENDS: The story of this fight of the Hukbalahaps is a saga of classic proportions, which must be read in Taruc's autobiography to be appreciated. A people's army grew and spread, it fought and failed and fought and was victorious. It saved the Philippines from complete conquest by Japan, and yet when "liberation" came from the returning Americans, Taruc and the guerillas found the Americans suspicious enemies rather than friends.

The Philippines were then finally re-organized under Roxas, and Philippine independence proclaimed July 4, 1946. Reaction had a free hand, and a pacification campaign was started, which meant that the Hukbalahaps were now the hunted bandits.

THE CARPETBAGGERS: Roxas paid his debt to the Americans by accepting the Bell Act, which allowed American goods of any kind and in any quantity to enter the Philippines free, while only a few Philippine raw materials under quota could be sent to the U.S. The value of the peso was fixed to that of the American dollar, and American capitalists had the right to enter the Philippines without restriction to participate in any business including public facilities, on an equal basis with Filipinos, and to exploit natural resources. In addition to this, American military forces were given the right to maintain bases in the country for a period of 99 years. American officers were to train Philippine forces.

Roxas died in 1948 at a U.S. Army air base, and the Vice President, Quirino, succeeded him. He tried again to compromise with the Hukbalahaps and conferred with Taruc in Manila. Taruc was allowed the seat in Congress to which he had been previously elected, but soon the terror launched by Quirino exceeded that of Roxas, with murder, torture and rape.

OIL OF JERSEY: Despite American education, one half the Filipinos are still illiterate, and large numbers of the rest can hardly read or write. Tuberculosis and beri beri are widespread. The Filipino moves about in an American-made world. He grows pineapples and sends them to California to be canned. He grows coconut and then buys toilet soap made in New Jersey out of coconut oil. He uses sugar grown at home and refined in America.

But Taruc and his followers still fight. The last words of his book are:

> "The final pages of this book are being written in a very small nipa hut, somewhere on the slope of a mountain above the central plain of the island of Luzon. It is a temporary shelter, newly built, and it may have to be abandoned quickly, perhaps today, perhaps this afternoon. Perhaps even as I sit here writing, an alarm will come. The enemy is not far away.
>
> "Here in this small hut on the side of a mountain, looking out upon the soil that bred me, upon the land of my people of whom I was born, I complete this book, which is more their record than mine. The struggle of which I have written, and to which I have tried to contribute, is still not completed, but it will be, and the people will triumph."

BORN OF THE PEOPLE. By Luis Taruc. With a Foreword by Paul Robeson. International Publishers, New York, 1953. 286 Pages with glossary and biographical notes. Cloth $3, popular ed. $1.75.

CALENDAR

Chicago

CIRCUMSTANCES BEYOND OUR CONTROL forced closing of "Concert of Stars." If you have an unused ticket, it will be honored at the Cinema Annex for any of the many wonderful pictures to be shown. Illinois Progressive Party, 166 W. Washington St.

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Dulles seeking an Asian 'NATO'

(Continued from Page 3)

FORCED LABOR: The Kenya government, announcing Gen. Erskine's "first job will be to restore law and order in Kenya," issued a forced labor decree applicable to Africans only, and planned—against white people's misgivings—to raise an armed force among Asians in Kenya. This was an indirect admission that the Kikuyu liberation movement "has been extending rather than contracting" (**NYT**, 6/20, 23, 29). Observing the increasing publicity given to gruesome tales of atrocities allegedly perpetrated by the Kikuyus, London's **New Statesman** (5/23) said: "the fact that the war in Kenya is nothing but an effort to put down a revolutionary rising of Kikuyu against . . . servile conditions is being rapidly forgotten."

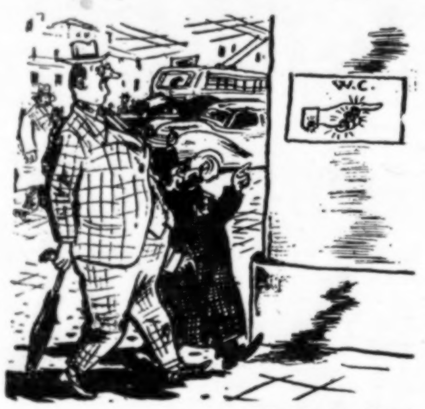
FRANCE TRIES FRANCE: Pierre Mendes-France, French representative on the International Monetary Fund, attempted last week to form a new cabinet. In the past he has vigorously contended that France was overburdened by rearmament. He told **Le Monde** (5/16):

> . . . facts have forced us to admit for a long time that no military victory is possible [in Indo-China]. The only solution is . . . negotiation. Our position to negotiate was better two years ago than last year; better last year than now; is probably less bad today than it will be a year from now.

Last week, however, Mendes-France told the press that, since France had accepted U.S. aid in the Indo-China war, an international solution of the war must be found (**NYT**, 6/1). He is called a financial wizard, but the **New Statesman**'s Paris correspondent pointed out (5/30) that "the French financial crisis cannot be solved . . . . until clear decisions are taken on European defense army, on rearmament, and, above all, on whether the war in Vietnam is to go on or not."

ADENAUER'S STAKE: Chancellor Adenauer "has been advised" that the Federal Court was certain to declare several features of the European Army treaty unconstitutional (N.Y. **Herald Tribune, 6/1**). Adenauer, who "has staked his government's fortunes" on this treaty, was said to be trying to persuade the court to withhold its decision until after the September elections.

From Bonn M. S. Handler reported (**NYT**, 6/1) that the powerful Social Democratic Party, second largest, "which has its ear very close to the ground," appeared certain that "more Germans are prepared to accept a reunited Germany even at the cost of neutralization than is generally believed." According to Handler, Social Democratic leader Erich Ollenhauer has demanded that "the three Western High Commissioners meet with Vladimir Semyenov, newly appointed Soviet High Commissioner [to E. Germany] to discuss reunification of Germany. . . . The official U.S. concept of a Soviet rollback under strong . . . pressure from the West is finding less credit today than when originally enunciated. . . . [The] idea of achieving reunification through a four-power agreement has been making noticeable, if discreet gains. . . ." Adenauer was worried because his government "would have a very poor prospect in united Germany" (Walter Lippmann, 5/21).



Vie Nuove, Rome

"As you can see, this is the millionaires' part of the city."

ITALIAN CAMPAIGN: On the eve of elections June 7, strong pressures were exerted on the electorate to return pro-U.S. Premier De Gasperi to power. Every parish priest read during mass a "notification" from Clemente Cardinal Micara, the Pope's vicar for the Diocese of Rome, to "vote as Catholics and . . . as Romans" (**NYT**, 6/1). In Milan, Cardinal Schuster — credited with pro-fascist leanings during Mussolini's regime—joined other Catholic Church leaders in exhorting the Italians to vote "solidly" for De Gasperi (**NYT**, 5/29).

While Secy. Dulles told the Asians that the U.S. had "no disposition to meddle in the affairs of others" (**NYT**, 5/25), the U.S. by sheer coincidence announced exactly a week before the elections that Italy was to receive $22 million in direct economic aid by June 30. New York's Mayor Impellitteri and Cardinal Spellman urged Italians in the U.S. to write to relatives and friends in Italy to "vote anti-Communist" (**NYT**, 5/29). John O'Donnell (N.Y. **Daily News**, 6/1) reported that U.S. Ambassador to Italy Clare Luce, "with a private OK from the State Department," was making "political speeches, bearing down on the Italian domestic situation . . . [giving] the direct warning that U.S. dough to Italy will be cut off" if Italians fail to vote for De Gasperi. Arnaldo Cortesi predicted (**NYT**, 5/29) that Ambassador Luce's statement was "certain to be full of political consequences."

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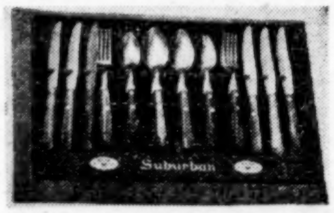

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4	.19	.25	.28	.34	.42	.51	.60	.69
5	.20	.27	.31	.38	.48	60	.71	.83
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7	.23	.32	.38	.48	.62	.79	.94	1.11
8	.24	.34	.42	.53	.69	.88	1.06	1.25
9	.25	.37	.45	.57	.75	.97	1.17	1.39
10	.27	.39	.49	.62	.82	1.07	1.29	1.53
11	.28	.41	.52	.67	.89	1.16	1.40	1.67
12	.29	.44	.56	.72	.96	1.25	1.52	1.81
13	.30	.46	.59	.76	1.02	1.34	1.63	1.95
14	.32	.49	.63	.81	1.09	1.44	1.75	2.09
15	.33	.51	.66	.86	1.16	1.53	1.86	2.23
16	.34	.53	.70	.91	1.23	1.62	1.98	2.37
17	.35	.56	.73	.95	1.29	1.71	2.09	2.51
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